

Selayarese key

1.	vowels:	i	u	consonants:	p	t	k	?
		e	o		b	d	g	
		a				s	j	
					<sup>m</sup> b	<sup>n</sup> d	<sup>ŋ</sup> g	
					m	n	ɲ	ŋ
						l,r		

phonotactic observations:

- prenasalized consonants are restricted to intervocalic position and seem to be in complementary distribution with the voiced plosives
- ord-final consonants restricted to glottal stop and velar nasal indicating a ban on oral place contrasts in the syllable coda (cf. Mandarin, Japanese, ...)
- no initial or final consonant clusters; medial clusters restricted to two consonants suggesting a maximal CVC syllable template; also few if any word-initial vowels
- no monosyllabic lexical words (a common Austronesian restriction)

stress:

- stress falls on the penultimate syllable; the stressed syllable is long--either closed or contains a predictable long vowel (cf. Italian)

[+syll] -> [+stress] / \_\_\_\_ CoVCo#

[+syll,+stress] -> [+long]

ordering: stress rule precedes lengthening rule

[2] In these words stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable; they also have the peculiarity that they end in a vowel that is identical to the preceding vowel and the intervening consonant is [s,l,r]. This suggests that the final vowel is inserted to bring the words into conformity with the phonotactic restriction that words can only end in the “placeless” glottal stop or engma. The inserted vowel agrees with the preceding vowel (recall Somali).

∅ -> [+syll, αF's] / [+syll, αF's] [+cons, +place] \_\_\_\_ #

ordering: stress rule precedes epenthesis

[3] These data confirm the analysis in [2] that words with antepenultimate stress derive from underlying structures that lack a final vowel; i.e. /lamber/ ‘long’ when supplied with a suffix /-aŋ/ does not require epenthesis. Words like ló:he ‘many’ with penultimate stress terminate in a vowel in the underlying form that appears when suffixed: lohé:aŋ.

/lamber/	/lamber-aŋ/	/lohe/	/lohe-aŋ/	
lámber	lambér-aŋ	lóhe	lohé-aŋ	Stress
-----	lanbé:r-aŋ	ló:he	lohé:-aŋ	Length
lámber	-----	-----	-----	Epenthesis

[4] These data also show that the morphology distinguishes the two classes of words — those that end in a vowel like /sahala/ ‘sea cucumber’ vs. those that terminate in a consonant /sahal/ ‘profit’. Further data from Ellen Broselow indicates that the [a] vowel appearing in ‘profit’ is a copy of the preceding vowel. Various analytic options are available to distinguish the two inflections. We must also account for the uniform penultimate stress. The most natural solution would posit a cycle for the stress.

/sahala/	/sahal/	
sahála	sáhal	stress
-----	sáhala	epenthesis
/sahála+ku/	/sáhala+ku/	second cycle
sahála-ku	sáhala-ku	stress
sahalá-ku	sahalá-ku	one stress per word

We must now explain why the stems satisfy the lengthening of stressed syllables differently. One possibility is to say that epenthetic vowels resist lengthening (later we will say why) and so the requirement that the stressed syllable be long is satisfied by gemination of a voiceless stop and otherwise by a glottal (voiceless stops being the optimal geminates cross-linguistically).

sahalá:-ku    sahalákku

This of course is not a distinction that the derivational model can make since each rule is defined over the immediately preceding step in the derivation and so the distinction between an underlying and inserted vowel is lost unless one encodes it representationally in some way.

[5] These data confirm the basic analysis that Selayarese repairs final consonants by vowel epenthesis.

[6] These data are problematic in various ways. The CVCCV forms like *kartu* -> *kará:tu* show that the restriction against oral place on a final consonant extends to preconsonantal position — in effect oral place can only be realized before a vowel. But here the epenthetic vowel is stressed and lengthened. Perhaps the most natural explanation is to conjecture that at initial adaptation the loanword form was \**ká:ratu*. Since there is no alternation later speakers have no evidence other than the anomalous stress to treat the vowel as inserted and so it was relexicalized to /*karatu*/, whence the regular penultimate stress. (Adaptations into Japanese seem to display this behavior). However, this explanation fails to carry over to CVCCVC forms like *solder* -> *solodé:re*. The final vowel can alternate with zero as in *lámberé* in [3] and the nonalternating copied vowel should be lexicalized implying /*soloder*/ -> \**soló:dere*. Sonny Webb suggests that the loan adaptation must conform to the range of native lexical inputs: since native stems lack input clusters then a lexicalized adaptation must as well. For reasons of uniformity (perhaps a learning strategy demanding consistent analysis of the  $V \approx \emptyset$  through the word) this would require the lexicalization of the final epenthetic vowel in the CVCCVC forms. Clearly more study is needed to document this contrast and explain its properties.